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A

# LETTER

From a Perſon of

HONOUR in the Country

Written to the EARL of

# CASTLEHAVEN.

BEING

Obſervations and Reflections

Upon his Lordſhips

# MEMOIRES

Concerning the

# WARS of IRELAND.

And Concerning which, the Complaint of the Duke of *Ormond* in Council now depends againſt the Earl of *Angleſy* Lord Privy Seal.

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A

# LETTER

Written to the EARL of

# CASTLEHAVEN.

*My Lord Caſtlehaven,*

HAving Received your Lordſhips of the 24th Current, with your printed Memoires, which you are pleaſed in ſome ſort to Intitle me to; and I will not conceal from your Lordſhip that I am not yet aſhamed, now I have read them, though I cannot approve all in them, that I was the firſt incentive to your Writing them; which was upon this occaſion, having ſat along with your Lordſhip

in Parliament, and obſerving for the moſt part ſuch a conſent between your Lordſhip and me, in proceedings there upon the moſt abſtracted Principles of Honour and Allegiance, I could not but account of your Lordſhip as a true Engliſhman and a Loyal Subject, whatſoever blemiſh your engagement under the confederate Rebels of *Ireland* had before fixed on you; and having heard you ſo often pathetically declare your ſelf fully to mine and moſt honeſt Mens Minds, againſt the dangers of the growing greatneſs of the *French* and the too faſt Declenſion of the *Spaniard*, between which great Powers of the World, the Crown of *England* was ſo happy and wiſe in former times as to hold and guide the Ballance; and finding by your frequent, and as I could not but conceive, Cordial Expreſſions againſt the Pope of *Rome*'s Uſurping Authority in theſe Dominions, over and againſt his Majeſty, and Kingdoms, to ſuch a degree,

gree, that you ſpared not, like a right Ancient Peer of this Realm, often to ſay, That if the Pope himſelf ſhould Attack any of his Majeſties Dominions, you would be one of the firſt to labour his Deſtruction; I was deſervedly much delighted in your Lordſhips Converſe: which having been often honoured with, both by your Letters, when in Foreign parts, and your favourable Society here at home, I was inſtrumental, as your Lordſhip well knows, to prevail with the Parliament to ſet a mark of great Honour on your Lordſhip, by a ſpecial recommendation and interceſſion to his Majeſty for a regard to and reparation of the Breaches time and misfortune had made upon ſo Ancient and Honourable a Family. And looking upon your Lordſhip as a Peer of moſt noble Principles, and free of the worſt part of Bigotry, I could not but lament your leaving the Parliament, and ſtill wiſh your return.

During our ſaid Converſe, being ingaged in the Hiſtory of *Ireland*, to which I was the more inclined by an intereſt therein for ſeveral Generations; my Great Grandfather, Sir *John Perrot*, having been Deputy thereof, governing the ſame with great Wiſdom and Succeſs, my Grandfather *Anneſley* having been Commander at Sea in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and one of the Undertakers for Land in *Munſter*, after the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Rebellion; my Father, the Lord Baron of *Mountnorris*, and Viſcount of *Valentia* (of whom I have very often heard your Lordſhip ſpeak with great Honour, and as your worthy Friend) having faithfully ſerved King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt, near Forty years in that Kingdom, in Offices and Imployments of high Truſt; and I my ſelf being a Native of the City of *Dublin*, a diligent Obſerver of the Troubles there, wherein I had ſome ſhare; and having both Honours and Lands de-

deſcended to me in that Realm; and knowing that your Lordſhip had heretofore a great part in the Action there, and taking notice that no Memorials I had yet ſeen, did give a full account of your Lordſhip, whom as my own Friend and my Fathers Friend, I was willing to do right to in Hiſtory, as far as I could; ever highly eſteeming the Bravery of your Actions and Wiſdom of your Conduct, as far as I had Cognizance thereof, though I *bemoaned* the unhappy circumſtances of your engaging under a Power uſurping over your own Prince, and incroaching Royal Power; which I find you cannot digeſt, either the Pope or Duke of *Lorraine* ſhould have done: I diſcourſed with your Lordſhip many of the moſt important Deſigns, Actions and Traverſes of Fortune in *Ireland*, ſince the fatal 23 of *October* 1641, and finding by your full Relations, with a perfect memory thereof, that you were able to give help to Hiſtory

 therein;

therein ; I moved your Lordſhip (to which you friendly conſented) that at leaſure hours you would reduce to writing what you could remember, with as exact reference to Time and Order (as you could recollect) of Paſſages and Exploits there ; and that I might by your favour be poſſeſſed thereof : And I wiſh things had reſted there, little expecting a formal Relation in print, and much leſs ſo introduced before I had the peruſal of it ; for I muſt now acquaint your Lordſhip, that I did not, after what I have above related, ſave now and then to your ſelf, inquire after your Memoires promiſed me, till by a Letter of the 16th of this moneth, from a hand I reſpect, I had notice he had ſeen them ; and my Cenſure thereon was deſired, they ſeeming to him (after 28 years ſilence, to caſt a Calumny on the Government then ; and as he ſuſpects, with no good intention, though he refers that to my Opinion ; knowing (as he is

pleaſed

pleaſed to ſay ) none to appeal to but me. Your Lordſhip ſees now how you are ingaged for want of commanding my Service before the Printers: and I am confident the heat of a Battle would be leſs formidable to you then the Paper warre you muſt expect to be aſſaulted with; wherein, if I be neceſſitated to have the leaſt hand, your Lordſhip may be aſſured it ſhall be *en Gentilhome & en amy*, and chiefly with an aim to convince your Lordſhip of that which hath obſcured the Glory of your Adventures and Exploits or Undertakings, in that unfortunate Kingdom; and therefore I forbear giving any Opinion to my Friend, till I have vented my thoughts to your Lordſhip, which I ſhall now take the liberty to do.

Upon ſerious peruſal of your Book, I find your Lordſhips Story of two parts, The Firſt till the Ceſſation of Arms concluded by the Rebels Commiſſioners at *Seginſtowne*, with the

Marqueſs

Marqueſs of *Ormond*, *Sept.* 15, 1643; all which time your Lordſhip was wholly of the Rebels Party, and under their Pay and Command, which I wiſh your Lordſhip had not thought fit for the Preſs, though there were ſome Acts of Souldierly bravery in it. The Second Part, From that time till your Lordſhip finding the ill ſtate of Affairs in *Ireland*, was diſpatched by the then Lord Deputy *Clanrickard*, to ſet out the ſame to the King in *France*; from whence, though your Lordſhip procured a Letter from his Majeſty to the Lord Deputy, and ſent the ſame by a ſafe Meſſenger, yet you returned not again, but ingaged in the Service of the Prince of *Conde*. My Lord, I am loath now to make my Remarques upon this Second Part, becauſe your Lordſhips acting therein at times, under the Confederate Iriſh their Commiſſion, and under his Majeſties Authority at other times, and ſometimes under both.

It

It will be fitter at preſent for me to be ſilent therein, than to attempt the unblending ſuch a mixture, and ſeperate your Acts of Allegiance from thoſe of Oppoſition to the King, which I muſt always blame you for: or to condemn you intirely, when ſome things your Lordſhip did were by full Authority, though very fatal to the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt in that Kingdom, and no ways advantagious to his Majeſty or his Affairs.

But the Firſt Part of your Story, which takes up three Sections of your Memoirs, I cannot let paſs unanimadverted and corrected, without condemning the generation of the juſt; ſuffering Blemiſh, and Calumny, to lie upon his Majeſty and Government, both in *England* and *Ireland*; and leaving your Lordſhip in a miſtake of having done well, when I hope I ſhall evince that you did very ill, unleſs the galantry of a Souldier can expiate for all that was amiſs. For this end

I muſt take notice to your Lordſhip, that all I find you urge to ſatisfie your own Conſcience, or to vindicate your Honour and Integrity to the World, in this your ingaging your ſelf amongſt the Iriſh, is to this effect: Your Lordſhip ſaith, That at the firſt eruption of the Rebellion (which you ſeem to tye to the North, but was univerſal) you acquainted the Lords Juſtices with your willingneſs to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels, as your Anceſtors had formerly done in *Ireland*; but they replying, that your Religion was an Obſtacle; there being then a Parliament in that Kingdom ſitting, you were reſolved to ſee the event, ſending your Brother to your Houſe at *Madingſtowne*, in the County of *Kildare*, to ſecure and defend it, in caſe there were any riſing in thoſe parts. Sometime after the Parliament being diſſolved (but you do not mention that you attended your duty in Parliament, when it was ſitting, and declaring

declaring againſt the Rebels) your Lordſhip deſired a Paſs from the Juſtices to go to *England*, but they refuſing, you acquainted them with the condition of your Eſtate, and deſired a ſupply of Money till you could apply to the Parliament of *England* for a Paſs to bring you over, which they denyed. You preſs'd them then to direct you what courſe you ſhould ſteer, to which they replied, Go home and make fair weather. You took this advice, and being come, my Lord of *Antrim*, and my Lady Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* (both Papiſts, and after that deeply ingaged in the Rebellion) ſoon followed (whether by concert with your Lordſhip is not ſaid) and you were very well pleaſed with ſo good company. But in a ſhort time the Iriſh came and drove away great part of your Stock, which you recovered by a party ſent out with your Brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefeſt Conductors of

that

that Rabble. This inraged the Irish so much, as you conceived your Brother was not safe there, and therefore sent him to *Dublin*, to attend the Justices Orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a call, they sending a Convoy, which they promised to do as Occasion required. But your Lordship hearing that you were indicted of High Treason, and hereupon your Brother addressing to the Lords Justices again, to let them know that they had not kept their words with him, in suffering this clandestine proceeding against you (as your Brothers Letter calls it) you went to *Dublin*, and addressed your self to my Lord of *Ormond*, as your Brother did in your behalf to the Lords Justices and Council, to acquaint them with your coming; and upon your appearance before them they ordered you to come the day following, at which time, without calling you in, they committed you to

Mr.

Mr. *Woodcock*'s Houſe, one of the Sheriffs of *Dublin*. Your Brother ſeeing (as he calls it) this rigorous uſage towards you, and being refuſed a Paſs for himſelf to go for *England*, he got away to the King at *York*, and petitioned him that you might be ſent for over to be tryed here by your Peers. But his Majeſties Anſwer was, That he had left all the Affairs of *Ireland* to the Parliament; upon which he petitioned the Parliament to the ſame effect: their Anſwer was, that they could do nothing without the King. After this your Brother ſaith, he was continually ſerving his Majeſty in *England*. Your Lordſhip once more placeth your ſelf at *Madenſtowne*, whither you had at firſt retired by advice of the Lords Juſtices, and continued there ſome Five or ſix moneths after in peace and quietneſs; but your Lordſhip doth not mention that other neighbouring places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh did ſo; or what intelligence

your

your Lordſhip had with or gave to the State. But proceed to ſay, That in the mean while Parties were ſent out by the Juſtices from *Dublin*, and the Towns adjacent, to kill and deſtroy the Rebels; and the like was done through all parts of the Kingdom. But your Lordſhip adds, the Officers and Souldiers did not take care enough to diſtinguiſh between the Rebels and Subjects, but killed in many places promiſcuouſly; on which partly, and partly on other provocations that proceeded, and ſome too that followed, the whole Nation finding themſelves concerned, took to Arms for their own defence, and particularly the Lords of the Pale did ſo, who yet at the ſame time deſired the Juſtices to ſend their Petition to the King, which was refuſed. And for their further diſcouragement, Sir *John Read*, his Majeſties ſworn Servant (a ſtranger to the Countrey, uningaged, and an Eye-witneſs of their proceedings, then upon

upon his Journey to *England*) prevailed with by them, to carry their Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, and to beg his Pardon for what they had done; coming to *Dublin*, and not concealing his Meſſage, was put to the Rack for his good will. The ſaid Lords having tryed this and other ways to acquaint the King with their Grievances, and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom. Your Lordſhip next takes notice of your accidental entertaining my Lord of *Ormond* at Dinner, immediately after the Battle of *Killruſh*, which you were a Spectator of, being in ſight of your Houſe; but that ſome who came with him, turned this another way, and publiſhing through the Army, that it was a mighty Feaſt for my Lord *Mount Garret* and the Rebels; this through the Engliſh Quarters paſt for currant. And you believe it was much the cauſe of this under-hand villainous proceedings (as

you call it ) againſt you fore-mentioned. Your Lordſhip proceeds to tells us, That after Twenty Weeks that you had remained in Priſon, you were ordered to be removed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, which ſtartled you, and brought to your thoughts the proceedings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who confiding in his Innocency, loſt his Head: you concluded then that Innocency was a ſcurvey plea in an angry time; beſides, your Lordſhip looked upon the Juſtices and moſt of the Council to be of the Parliaments Perſwaſion; wherefore you reſolved to attempt an eſcape, and ſave your ſelf in the Iriſh Quarters, which your Lordſhip did, and give us a Relation of the manner of it; and how your Lordſhip took your way towards the Mountains of *Wicklow*, where being come, you cared little for the Juſtices, though before Dinner, your eſcape being diſcovered, on notice given to the Juſtices, you were purſued by a party

of

of Horſe, taking their way to your Houſe at *Madingſtowne*, which they inveſted in the night: but not finding your Lordſhip, after poſſeſſing themſelves of what your Lordſhip had within and without, they killed many of your Servants and burnt the Houſe. Your Lordſhip kept on your way to *Kilkenny*, as much through the Faſt Countrey as you could, till you arrived, where you found the Town very full, and many of your acquaintance, all preparing for their Natural Defence; ſeeing no diſtinction made, or ſafety but in Arms. To this end your Lordſhip ſaith, They had choſen amongſt themſelves, out of the moſt eminent Perſons, a Council, and gave it the Title of, *The Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland; and formed an Oath of Aſſociation, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made Four Generals of the Four Provinces, *Preſton* of *Leinſter*, *Barry* of *Munſter*, *Owen-Roe Oneil*

of *Ulſter*, and one *Burk* of *Connaught*; and being to give Commiſſions, they cauſed a Seal to be made, which was the Seal of the Council. Your Lordſhip ſaith, you were ſent for to this Council to tell your Story, which you did. And being asked what you intended to do, you anſwered, to get into *France*, and ſo to *England*; upon which they told you their condition, and what they were doing for their preſervation, perſwading you to ſtay with them, being your Lordſhip was beloved in the Countrey; had three Siſters married amongſt them, was perſecuted upon the ſame ſcore they were, and ruined; ſo that you had no more to loſe but your Lives. You took two or three days to think of this Propoſition, examining the Model of Government they had prepared againſt the meeting of the general Aſſembly, and moſt particularly their Oath of Aſſociation, which your Lordſhip judged to be very reaſonable, as the caſe ſtood.

On

On the whole matter you returned to this Council, Thanked them for their good Opinion of you, and engaged your ſelf to run a Fortune with them. Whether Anger and Revenge did not incline you to it as much as any other conſideration, you ſay you cannot reſolve; but this you well remember, that you conſidered how you had been uſed, and ſeen your Houſe burning as you paſſed by; beſides, that you were a light man, with no charge, and not any hopes of redreſs from the King, who was then engaged in an inteſtine War. Now being thus a Confederate, and having taken the Oath, they made your Lordſhip one of the Council, and General of the Horſe under *Preſton*.

The Aſſemby met the 24th of *October*, 1642. It differed nothing from a Parliament, other then that the Lords and Commons ſate together, and not in two Houſes.

This your Lordſhip ſaith, we ſee was a force-put upon you, and you

hoped in time, the ſtorm being paſſed, to return to your old Government under the King. You had many Learned in the Law amongſt you, whom you incouraged to keep you as near the Old Government as might be; holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

That Aſſemby, without delay, approved all the Council had done, and ſettled a Model of Government, *viz.* That at the end of every General Aſſembly, the Supreme Council ſhould be Confirmed or Changed as they thought fit. That it ſhould conſiſt of Twenty five, ſix out of each Province, three of the ſix ſtill Reſident.

The 25th was your Lordſhip, with no Relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general. Every Province had a Provincial Aſſembly, which met on occaſions, and each Countrey had Commiſſions for Applotting Money within themſelves, as it came to their ſhares, upon the general Applotment of

of the Province. Many other things there were as to Government. If a letter came to them written in Iriſh, it would be wondred at, and hardly could one be found to read it. You ſay you were not in caſe to bring to Juſtice thoſe that begun the Rebellion. But you never ſaw any of them eſteemed or advanced. The general Aſſembly being put off, the Generals fell to their work, and your Lordſhips General took in *Burras*, Fort *Faukland* and *Burriſh*, in the *Kings County*, where you were with him. Your Lordſhip was alſo with this General the 18th of *March*, 1642, when he was beaten at *Roſs* by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and by Collonel *Monk*, ſince Duke of *Albermarle*, at *Timochoe*, in the *Queens County*, the Fifth of *October*, 1642. Yet afterwards he beſieging *Ballynekill*, in the ſame County, you ventured once more with him; where he having intelligence that Major General *Crawford*

was Beſieging *Ballybritas*, a Caſtle, belonging to the Viſcount *Clanmalleer*, he ſent your Lordſhip with a party of Fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, to endeavour the ſuccouring of that place, which your Lordſhip did; and *Crawford* drawing off, in paſſing the River of the *Barrow*, in a Skirmiſh, had his Thigh broken with a Musket Shot. You returned as *Ballynekill* was rendred. After this your Lordſhip remained at *Kilkenny*, with the Supream Council, and *Preſton* went into the lower parts of the Province with the Army; of whoſe Abſence, the Enemies Garriſons, in the County of *Catherlagh* and *Queens County*, taking advantage, allarm'd the County of *Kilkenny*, even to the Gates of the City. Your Lordſhip was then by the Council commanded to go againſt them. And therefore having gotten together about 2000 Men, with ſome Cannon, you marched to *Ballynunry*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, and took

took it; as also *Cloghgrenan*, where the County of *Wexford*'s Regiment mutined, but were reduced and some Examples made, served well for the future. Your Lordship marched thence into the *Queens County*, and Besieged *Bellyknan*, Commanded by the *Grimes*'s, a valiant People, with a strong Garrison. But a great breach being made, their Succour came by the way of *Athy*. Your Lordship was not well at this Allarm, but laid upon your Bed in your Tent. However you made no great matter of it, knowing the Succour could not be considerable; but your Lordship beating their Succour in their view, the besieged Garrison yielded, on condition to march out with their Arms. And then your Lordship was perswaded to head the *Munster* Forces, of whole Success, under your Command, you give a full Relation; and then returning to *Kilkenny*, gave the Assembly an account of what had passed. Soon after the

Assembly

Aſſembly being broke up, and a Supream Council choſen to govern in their abſence; you retired to *Kilkaſh*, your Brother *Butler*'s Houſe, to reſt your ſelf. The Council went to *Roſs*, and whilſt they were there, a Trumpet brought them a Letter from the Marquels of *Ormond*, ſetting forth his being appointed by the King to hear your Grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. The particulars of the Letter you know not, but the Trumpet was quickly diſpatched with ſome ſlight Anſwer; which coming to your knowledge, you repaired to *Kilkenny*, whither the Council was returned; and on information, finding what you had heard to be true, you ſent for Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwall*, Collonel *Walter Bagnal*, and ſuch others as were in the Town, well affected and leading Men of the Aſſembly, though not of the Council. Now being in your Lodging, you acquainted them with what you had underſtood,

and

and that if they would ſtick to you, you would endeavour to give it a turn. You all agreed on the way, which was to go to the Council then ſitting, to take notice of the Kings offer, and their return; and to mind them that the conſideration and reſolutions concerning Peace and War, the general Aſſembly reſerved to themſelves only; and therefore to require that they would ſend immediately a Trumpet of their own, with a Letter to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, giving him to underſtand they had iſſued a Summons for a general Aſſembly, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious Favour, in naming him his Commiſſioner to hear your Aggrievances and redreſs them. This you put in execution, and gained your point without much reſiſtance.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* being thus brought into a Treaty, the Confederate Commiſſioners met at *Seginſtowne*, near the *Naſſe*, as his Excellency

lency had appointed, in order to a Ceſſation of Arms. At which time all Parties laboured to get into poſſeſſion of what they could. Collonel *Monk*, after made Duke of *Albermarle*, march'd into the County of *Wicklow* to take in the Harveſt, and poſſeſs ſome Caſtles. Your Lordſhip being then commanded by the Council to go againſt him, and having Rendevouz'd your Troops, conſiſting of about 3000 Horſe and Foot at *Ballynekill*, in the County of *Catherlagh*; notice was brought you that Collonel *Monk* was marched away in all haſte to the aſſiſtance of the Lord *Moor*, then facing *Owen Roe Oneal*, near *Portleſter*. You finding your ſelf now to have nothing to do, thought it worth the while to endeavour taking in *Dullerſtown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and all other Caſtles in the County of *Kildare*, between the Rivers of the *Barrow* and *Liffe*, which you did; leaving Garriſons in them. This done, you repaſt

paſt the *Barrow* at *Monaſter-Evan*, marched into *Leix*, and took three or four ſmall places. But as you were going on, had Advice from the Commiſſioners at *Seginſtowne*, that they had on the 15th of *September*, 1643, concluded a Ceſſation of Arms with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, to which you ſubmited.

As your Lordſhip did alſo to the two Peaces of 1646, 1648, both ſutable, and of the ſame ſtrain; and though both were of advantage only to the *Iriſh*, and highly diſhonourable to the Crown of *England*, and deſtructive to the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*, yet both were broken and ſet at naught by the *Iriſh* themſelves, a juſt Judgment of God againſt them, whoſe hands were full of Blood; and there being no hopes that ſuch untempered Morter could cement them and the Poſterity left alive of murdered Parents, Brothers, Siſters, and other Relations; or that ever the *Engliſh* could

could live out of danger, and free of Maſſacres for the future, without exemplary puniſhment of the Murderers and Rebels, and bringing them by forfeitures and otherwiſe, to an abſolute ſubjection to the Laws, and keeping them in that ſtate, as it is now hoped they are, and will be by the watchful Eye of Government.

I ſhall now, as briefly as I can, take the liberty to give your Lordſhip impartial Remarks upon what your Lordſhip hath written In juſtification of the Rebels, or tending to caluminate his Majeſties Government, or Engliſh and Proteſtant Subjects; reſerving a fuller account thereof to a fitter occaſion.

In the firſt place, Seeing your Lordſhips *Memoires*, dedicated to the King, I cannot but take notice how dangerous a thing it is, and of how bad conſequence it may prove, eſpecially in this caſe and juncture, to miſinform his Majeſty; not that I do ſuſpect or tax your Lordſhip of deſign to abuſe the

the King; for I do charitably believe, as your Lordſhip affirms upon your word, that they do not contain a lie or miſtake to your knowledge, yet I muſt poſitively aver, and it is my part to make it good, that the Relation wants the moſt material and pregnant Truths in the principal part thereof, and of moſt conſequence to the Publick, as I doubt not your Lordſhip will believe and confeſs upon ſuch glances as I ſhall make upon particulars as I go over them. But before I proceed, it will import the giving clear light to an affair, which contrary intereſts have ſo much endeavoured to perplex, to obſerve the ſtate that unhappy Kingdom of *Ireland* was in at the Eruption of that fatal Rebellion. A Parliament ſitting the year before in *Ireland*, both Houſes taking notice of ſome Grievances growing upon them, and the want of ſome good New Laws for advancing the Proſperity and good Government of that Kingdom, did

did ſend choſen Agents or Commiſſioners, both Lords and Commons, of moſt eſteem amongſt them, to attend his Majeſty in *England*, for redreſs of ſuch Grievances, and procuring ſuch new Grants and Graces, as they were directed to move for, from a Gracious King. His Majeſty received them favourably and with good diſpatch, they returned for *Ireland* fully ſatisfied, and loaden with all the Graces and Bounties, good Subjects could hope to receive upon ſuch an Addreſs to their Prince; and what needed Confirmation in Parliament, was to be done when the Parliament ſhould meet, at the day to which it was Prorogued. The People of *Ireland* were never better pleaſed then with the gracious Returns his Majeſty had made by their Commiſſioners. That Kingdom never enjoyed a more profound, and more like to be laſting Peace and Proſperity, Commerce and Trade, both at home and abroad, never flouriſhed more;

barbarous

barbarous Cuſtoms were never more entirely ſubdued and abrogated; there never was more Unity, Friendſhip, and good Agreement, amongſt all ſorts and degrees (except in the ſtanding root of miſchief, the difference in Religion) then at this time, nor more mutual Confidence. I can ſay, being that time there, the Sheep and the Goats lived quietly together; and there was that intire truſt in one another, as to all Matters Civil and Temporal, that I remember very well, the Summer before the Rebellion, The Titular Biſhop of *Fernes* coming his Viſitation into the County of *Wexford*, where I then dwelt, at the requeſt of a Popiſh Prieſt, I lent moſt of my Silver Plate to entertain the ſaid Biſhop with, and had it honeſtly reſtored. In this ſerene and happy ſtate was that Kingdom, every one ſitting under his own Vine and Fig-tree in peace, and in the abundance of all things, when, whether ſurfeiting of Quiet and Plenty,

or by the juſt Judgment of God upon a ſinful and ſuperſtitious Nation; or that the ſaid Committees having ſtaid in *England* till they ſaw ſymptoms of a miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and his two Houſes af Parliament in *England*, and being moſt of them Papiſts, conceived they had fallen into a fit juncture to ſet up their darling Idolatry, and reſtore the pretended Juriſdiction of their Idolized Forraign Power of the Pope of *Rome*, or being in at the Intrigues of the Popiſh Faction all Court, and receiving incouragement by what they obſerved, and was infuſed into them; they had here laid the Foundation of the Maſſacre and Rebellion, whereof *Ireland* was to be the Scene; or upon what other grounds, I ſhall not here take upon me determine, but I well remember that he 23d. of *October*, after their Return, broke out upon a formed Combination and Conſpiracy, wherein almoſt all the ſaid Popiſh Committees were leading

leading Men and principal Actors, ſuch a horrid and bloody Maſſacre and Rebellion, as is not to be parallell'd in Hiſtory; neither Man, Woman, nor Infants in the Womb, or at the Breaſt, being ſpared; but the generality of that Nation turning barbarous and wild *Iriſh* again, after ſo many hundred years Subjection to the Crown of *England*, and Endeavours of their Reformation and Civilizing to ſo vaſt an expence of Blood and Treaſure, as is hardly to be believed. But, my Lord, I may now but touch at things, *Comme en paſſant*, that I may keep within the bounds of a *Letter*; but when, what I have meditated, and am preparing from Records and authentick, unqueſtionble Relations and Tranſactions of that bloody Tragedy and matchleſs Defection from the Crown and very Nation of *Engliſh* Men, ſhall ſee the light, your Lordſhip will be informed, of what, it ſeems, hath not yet come to your

knowledge, and what muſt make your Lordſhip bluſh, at your ſo fatal miſtake, to have ever been ( ſo far (as you confeſs your ſelf ) in ſo ill Company, and to have partaken in the leaſt in ſo foul a Guilt.

Having made this neceſſary Excurſion and Caution, I proceed in your Lordſhips own Method, Going firſt with your Lordſhip to the Lords Juſtices, acquainting them of your willingneſs to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels, to which no doubt, by advice of his Majeſties Privy Council in that Kingdom, they gave a very prudent Anſwer, That your Religion was an obſtacle; and how could they well ſay leſs, when it was apparent that it was a Popiſh Conſpiracy, and thoſe of that profeſſion univerſally ingaged in the Defection; in ſo much that though the State there would have diſtinguiſhed them into Allegiance, and for that end, more out of deſire to win them than any confidence they had in them, but

to

to leave them without excuſe, put Arms and Ammuuition into the hands of the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*; and other Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen of beſt Quality and Eſtates in the Engliſh Pale; and who by their tenures had formerly, and were obliged to aſſiſt the Crown, in times of danger; and they, almoſt all of them, went with his Majeſties Arms in Aid of the Rebells; and they who did beſt, did but reſtore the Kings Arms, and joyned themſelves, and all the power they could make, to the Inſurrection; forgetting the Grants and bountiful Gifts of Lands their Anceſtors had received from the Crown, for former, and on condition of future Service; in which Rank your Lordſhip placeth your noble Anceſtors, and I heartily wiſh you had continued that ſtation.

Your Lordſhips next motion was to the Lords Juſtices, for a Paſs to go for *England*, which, though they could

not conſent to, they gave your Lordſhip good Advice, and which for a time you followed (*viz.*) to go home to your Houſe, being but 20 miles from *Dublin*, and under the protection or reach of the State, as there ſhould be occaſion, and as your Lordſhip found afterwards.

Concerning your Lordſhips entertaining my Lord of *Antrim* and the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* at *Madinſtowne*, whither they ſoon followed, whither by conſent with your Lordſhip is not ſaid, and your delight in their company, I have nothing to ſay, but that it was an ill time for Feaſting and Jollity, when ſtript, and almoſt ſtarved *Engliſh*, came flying by your Gate every day from the Rebels Cruelty. And I find, that both the Marqueſs of *Antrim* and the Dutcheſs, were after that deeply ingaged in the Rebellion; and her Grace living and dying in the *Iriſh* Quarters, choſe to be buried at *Waterford*. And though your

your Lordſhip had power enough, when the *Iriſh* came and drove away a great part of your Stock; to recover it, by a party ſent out with your Brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefeſt Conductors of that Rabble; yet you do not ſo much as pretend that you delivered up any of them to Juſtice (as you ought.) But you ſay that this inraged the *Iriſh* ſo much, as you conceived your Brother was not ſafe there (where yet you thought fit to continue; but ſending him to *Dublin* to attend the Juſtices Orders, and aſſure them of your readineſs to return on a Call, they ſending a Convoy, which they promiſed to do as occaſion required, yet your Lordſhip hearing that you were indicted of high Treaſon (the moſt publick way of accuſing, though your Brothers Letter calls it Clandeſtine) you went to *Dublin* (it ſeems you could go when you pleaſed without a Convoy) but did not, it ſeems, think fit to appaer

and oppoſe the Indictment; but being committed by the Lords Juſtices and Council (the Juſtification whereof is not the work of this Letter, but will have its proper time and place) your Lordſhip after addreſſing your Caſe, by your Brother, to the King and Parliament in *England*, without ſucceſs, whither your Brother, being refuſed a Paſs by the Juſtices, was gotten. It ſeems your Lordſhip meditated your eſcape into the *Iriſh* Quarters, and relate the manner how you compaſſed the ſame, which few will believe your Lordſhip would have done, or held it the way to ſave your ſelf, but that you knew you had deſerved it of them, and that they had no cauſe to hurt you, as appeared after, by their making you General of their Horſe; and your Lordſhip, chuſing the Oath of Aſſociation before that of Allegiance.

Your Lordſhips having now ſhifted ſides, betake your ſelf roundly to a juſtification of the Rebels cauſe, I muſt follow

follow you your own way, though it be not ſo methodical as I could wiſh, and is with great confuſion of times and affairs, which the thred of Hiſtory will reduce to order when time ſerves. It is true, that Parties were ſent out by the Juſtices, according to his Majeſties Direction, to kill and deſtroy the Rebels throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; and if the Officers and Souldiers did not take care enough (in your Lordſhips Opinion) to diſtinguiſh between the Rebels and the Subjects, but killed in many places promiſcuouſly (whereof your Lordſhip gives no inſtances, or of particular complaints to have been made of any ſuch thing) I would fain know what diſtinction could be made of thoſe that were found in Arms or Action againſt the Kings Authority; for there will appear to have been no proſecution of others, nor any others killed, unleſs by ſuch accidents as might happen in full peace, and when the courſe of Juſtice is free.

But

But your Lordſhip ſaith, that on this partly, and partly on other occaſions that preceded, and ſome too that followed (but you enumerate none) the whole Nation finding themſelves concerned, took Arms for their own defence; and particularly the Lords of the Pale did ſo, who yet at the ſame time, deſired the Juſtices to ſend their Petition to the King, which was refuſed.

This being the chief ground by which your Lordſhip would juſtifie the moſt formed and dangerous Conſpiracy and Rebellion that ever was in that Kingdom ſince the Crown of *Englands* firſt Title thereunto, which your Lordſhip (being a Peer of *England*) ſhould have diſtinguiſhed from a juſt and a lawful War, but do not. I muſt obſerve to your Lordſhip, that its an ill way to acquaint the King with their pretended Grievances, *La main a leſpe*; they ſhould have done that, if they had any, before their

treache-

treacherous and bloody Maſſacres and open Rebellion; but indeed they had none to offer, but what was the juſt return of their own black Actions; for your Lordſhip knows (as I have ſaid before) that by Committees of both Houſes of Parliament in *Ireland*, whereof moſt were Papiſts, they had juſt before their Rebellion, returned loaden with ſuch Graces and Condeſcentions of Favour from the Crown, as had been ſufficient (meeting with the leaſt ingenuity, gratitude and humanity) to have made wavering Perſons good Subjects; but the Lord *Macguires* and others Confeſſions, manifeſted that they had laid their Deſign of Treaſon too deep to retreat eaſily, when they had once ſtruck the ſtroak, till finding their error, not from remorſe, but from ſenſe of danger imminent (which muſt inevitably follow, unleſs they could ſubdue *England* too. At the firſt they made a loud cry of Grievances, and at length bid fair, as they

they had made *Ireland* a field of Blood and Deſolation, to diſturb *England* alſo.

Concerning the further diſcouragement the Rebels received by Sir *John Reads* treatment, and what that was, and upon what grounds, though I have all the paſſages thereof by me, and will by no means allow of Racking any Man, as being contrary to the Law of *England*; yet I muſt obſerve that it was a very jealous time, after ſo many thouſands ſlaughtered barbarouſly in cold blood, the Rebellion increaſing every day, too great a curioſity ariſing to know the bottom of the deſign, that remedies proportionable might be applied; and Sir *John Read* being one of the Kings Servants and a deſigning Papiſt, being there ſo unſeaſonably, without being able to give a good account of himſelf or buſineſs, and going away Agent for the Rebels in Arms, without leave of the State, might make them exceed the ſtrict

bounds

bounds of Law in his Examination

Your Lordſhip in the next place taking notice that you had tryed this and other ways to acquaint the King with your Grievances (which I have ſhewed before were none) and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom; this being a meer colour and pretence, your Lordſhip unfortunately puts the effect before the pretended cauſe; for by what you had ſaid before, and what the truth of the cauſe is, the horrid Rebellion, (for it never merited the name of a War) was univerſal, before they ſo much as alleadged any Grievance. Your next *Memoire* is of your entertaining my Lord of *Ormond* at Dinner after the Battle of *Kilruſh*, which you were a Spectator of; and that ſome who came with him, turned it another way, publiſhing through the Army that it was a Feaſt for my Lord *Mountgarret* and the Rebels, which through the *Engliſh* Quarters paſt for currant.

Here

Here your Lordſhip, by your own ſhewing, intimates, that though you were a Spectator from your own Houſe of a Battle, wherein the Crown lay at ſtake, and had formerly diſcovered you had force enough to recover your Cat e! taken away by the Rebels, and apprehend ſome of their Leaders, which you call Rogues, yet (though a Peer of both Kingdoms) you would be no Actor, though the Kings General was at your Gate, doubting, it ſeems, the event of Battle; but the ſucceſs rendring my Lord of *Ormond* Victorious, you ſet before him that Dinner, which you had not ſtrength to keep from him. And indeed it was generally then held by the *Engliſh*, that if the Rebels had gained the day, your Lordſhip would more frankly have bid the Lord *Mountgarret*, their General (and a *Butler* alſo) welcome to that Dinner than you did my Lord of *Ormond*; and this is what paſſeth rant in this particular to this day, which you

you believe was much the cauſe of that villainous proceeding (as you call it) fore-mentioned, whereas it ſeems you were ſo far from being ill dealt with in the leaſt, that my Lord of *Ormond*, your Gueſt, though he might have juſtified his carrying you Priſoner with him to *Dublin*, who would not aſſiſt him in Fight, as your Tenure required left you (as ſome think by a blameable omiſſion) Maſter of your own Houſe, and without the leaſt damage done you, though much happened after to the Kingdom by your liberty, of which you were for ſome time reſtrained in the Sheriffs hands, and after ordered to be removed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, which you ſay ſtartled you, and it brought to your thoughts the proceedings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, &c. whereupon you made an eſcape, probably in the manner related.

But here your Lordſhip, not diſtinguiſhing times, and I not having Papers

pers by me, am ſo doubtful of an intermixture of Affairs to your advantage, that I muſt reſerve the unfolding thereof to another time, when I ſhall be able exactly to ſhew you the times of your Lordſhips appearing and joyning with the Rebels; and of the proceeding againſt the Earl of *Straſford*, and how they preceded on the other. I ſhall only for the preſent, obſerve how that great perſonage (though more innocent than your Lordſhip could pretend to) never fled his Tryal, well knowing that would have fixed more guilt upon him in conſtruction of Law, than could be proved againſt him; and judged it more honourable to hazard the loſing of his Head than his Innocency. Your Lordſhips Wiſdom took a contrary courſe, and concluding that Innocency was a ſcurvy plea in an angry time (as indeed it is in any times, where it is ſo thin laid, that groſs guilt appears under it) you find it ſafer to arraign the

ſtate

ſtate than to abide a Tryal; and accordingly taxing them for paſſion and partiality, and to be of the Parliaments perſwaſion (when your Lordſhip would have had them and the whole Kingdom of yours, and by what means time hath manifeſted) you reſolved to attempt an eſcape and ſave your ſelf in the *Iriſh* Quarters, which your Lordſhip did to the Mountains of *Wicklow*; where being come, you cared little for the Juſtices. Is it poſſible, if your Lordſhip han thought your ſelf innocent, that you would ſeek ſafety, or count your ſelf ſafe among the moſt enormouſly bloody and guilty men that ever were under the Sun; and fly the Kings Juſtice with reflection and ſcorn upon the State, that was purſuing them for their Crimes; and to avoid the niward ſtings of Guilt or Apprehenſions of Puniſhment, run head-long into open and a vowed Guilt, among thoſe who were under Gods Vengeance and the Kings. I leave

this to your Lordſhips more ſerious ſecond thoughts.

Being out of the danger of Juſtice, though your Lordſhip cared little for the Juſtices (as how could your Lordſhip, when you were aſſociated with thoſe who had bid defiance to God and the King) yet your Lordſhip quickly ſaw a proof, how civil and merciful they had been to you hitherto, when they upon your eſcape, ſhewed you they had power enough to purſue you, and pillage and burn your Houſe in your Mountain view, and uſe your Family as Enemies, which they might have done before, but their conſtant courſe was to endeavour the re-gaining thoſe who had faltered in their Allegiance, and not to increaſe the number, which was too heavy upon them already.

Your Lordſhip at length arrived to the beloved place deſigned, the City of *Kilkenny*, head Quarters of the Confederate Rebels, where you found many

many of your acquaintance preparing for their natural defence, ſeeing no diſtinction made, or ſafety but in Arms.

Your Lordſhips heart was now at reſt among your Friends and Relations, to whom indeed, after committing all the wickedneſs their hand of violence could reach to, being defeated in ſeveral Battels by his Majeſties Forces, and driven into their holds, defence became nutural, their Crimes having left them no hopes but in Arms, and who could expect no diſtinction to be made, wehre they were univerſally involved in the ſame black guilt.

For this end your Lordſhip ſaith they had choſen a Counil, formed an Oath of Aſſociation, made Four Generals of the Four Provinces, cauſed a Seal to be made, raiſed Monies, conſtituted a General Aſſembly, *&c.* all enſigns of the more than regal Power they had uſurped. To this Council your Lordſhip was ſent for,

and being well prepared by those inclinations which made you forsake the Kings Government and the Laws, you quickly closed with them upon the grounds before expressed, and upon consideration of their model of Government, and very reasonable (as your Lordship judged it) Oath of Association, which your Lordship prints at large, and their desiring your conjunction, with thanks returned, your Lordship engaged your self to run a Fortune with them, upon very ill principles, if anger and revenge inclined you to it as much as any other consideration (which you intimate, though you say you cannot resolve.)

Its strange how the Earl of *Castlehaven* and Lord *Audley* in *England.* could close so cordially with the *Irish*, who had shed so much innocent *English* Blood in full peace, and think himself justified by such an account of his ingagement as this, unless he had been resolved in the justice of their cause

cauſe from the beginning, however he carried it with ſeeming fairneſs to the Lords Juſtices till he got out of their reach.

But ingaged your Lordſhip was, and being thus Confederate, and having taken the Oath of Aſſociation, becoming one of their Council, and General of the Horſe under *Preſton*, and giving the moſt ſpecious account you can of your proceedings in that quality. Truth being the greateſt and beſt friend, I had rather one or ſeveral Perſons and Families, ſhould lie under the Conſequences of its impartiality, than that the *Engliſh* Nation and Proteſtant Religion ſhould ſuffer by a timorous unworthy concealing, or withholding any part of it. And ſince your Lordſhip, to palliate or juſtifie your own Actions, and the Confederate *Iriſh* Cauſe, endeavours to render the generality of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants Criminal, your Lordſhip muſt not think it much, that I, one of *Engliſh* Race,

and for Religion of the Church of *England*, ſhould be a little plain in their Juſtification and Defence; and for that end remove the mask your Lordſhip hath put upon the face of Affairs, by continuing my Remarques upon your Lordſhips Memoires. And firſt to the conſtitution of a Council, it was made up of Members uncapable of that truſt by Law. In the Oath of Aſſociation, and Propoſitions grounded thereon, there is not a word but breaths high Treaſon (except the firſt thirteen lines, which ſet up the Kings Name and Authority only in pagentry and mockery, to be crucified and contradicted by all that follows; and yet this Oath your Lordſhip held very reaſonable, as the caſe then ſtood, that is, when you and your Confederates were incouraged or heightned with a Power able, as you fancied, to make good what you had ſworn. And ſuitable to this ungodly, trayterous Oath, were all the ſubſequent proceedings of the Confede-

federates, their Councils at home and their Actions abroad, their Ceſſations and pretended Peaces, which I ſhall take notice of more particularly in their reſpective ſeries of time.

The general Aſſembly met the 24th of *October* 1642; your Lordſhip ſaith it differ'd nothing from a Parliament, but that the Lords and Commons ſate together, and not in two Houſes. Was this ſo inconſiderable a difference in the Opinion of a Peer of *England* as well as *Ireland*, or fit for one of ſo noble Extraction to be ſubmitted to, againſt Honour, Law and right Reaſon. But the truth is, and I ſpeak it for the honour of the Nobility of *Ireland*, the Rebels had not debauched enough of them, either for intereſt or number, to bear the Countenance of a Houſe of Peers, or to be of any conſiderable figure among that People, who having caſt off Majeſty could not be warmed by the beams thereof, which I count the Nobility; but they reſolved of

courſe into common perſons again, and had but ſingle Votes among the Croud, inſtead of thoſe Honourable Priviledges and Negative Voice, which their Anceſtors had acquired as the juſt reward of their faithfulneſs to the Crowu in former times, and in all Defections and Rebellions ſince the ſubjection of that Nation to *England*. And this your Lordſhip ingeniouſly confeſſeth (and ſaith we ſee it) was a force-put upon you, and you hoped in time the ſtorm being paſſed, to return to your old Government under the King. Here you own the being fallen from it, but could your Lordſhip imagine, or any others believe, this Cob-web pretence poſſible, were you not all ingaged by the bond of an Oath to the contrary, and to preſerve your new upſtart treaſonable Model and Conſtitution; and that the ſtorm ſhould never ceaſe till you had by Arms attained a confirmation of all that you had done, for which, by the ſaid Oath,

you

you renounced the receiving any Pardon or Protection, but by your own Sword. But that Aſſembly differed alſo from a Parliament in this, That it was called by a packt party of bloody Papiſts in Rebellion and Confederacy, and had neither Legal nor Regal Authority.

But to conciliate, credit and belief, you add, That there were many learned in the Law amongſt you, whom you incouraged to keep you as near the old Government as might be, holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

This is as improbable as the other, but if true, is a demonſtration that *Iriſh* Popiſh Lawyers, are the worſt inſtruments that can be tollerated in *Ireland.* And it is notorious in Fact, that theſe were the Men that did both contrive and put in order the Rebellion, and frame their whole Conſtitution, and without whoſe Council and Abilities (having had their Education in the Inns of Court of *England*) they

they had never come out of that Chaos of Confuſion, where they were at firſt, or reduced their Affairs to a conſiſtency, but had been quickly maſtered. And therefore I hope this hint concerning the Lawyers will awaken his Majeſty and Parliament of *England*, and the Government in *Ireland*, to provide againſt the continuance of ſuch dangerous inſtruments, as the Popiſh Lawyers have ſhewed themſelves to be, and in probability will ſo continue, making uſe of their Learning and Skill for ſubverſion of Government and good Order. So that *Ireland* is never like to be quiet if they be tollerated. Your Lordſhip proceeds to tell us, that this Aſſembly without delay approved all the Council had done, (how could they well in gratitude do leſs, being themſelves a Creature of that Councils making) and ſettled a Model of Government, *viz.* That at the end of every General Aſſembly, the ſupream Council ſhould be confirmed

ed or changed, as they thought fit. That it ſhould conſiſt of Twenty five, ſix out of each Province, three of the ſix ſtill reſident, | the 25th was your Lordſhip, with no relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general, *&c.* Your Lordſhips Relation was a mock Image of his Majeſty, which was alſo to the Kingdom in general, and but that it is not now my buſineſs, I could here evince that this Conſtitution caſt the over balance of the Government clearly into the *Iriſh* hands, ſuch of the old *Engliſh* Extraction as joyned with them, being Ciphers upon the matter, as it appeared afterwards in practice. So improbable was what your Lordſhip aſſerts, that if a Letter came to them written in *Iriſh*, it would be wondred at, and hardly could one be found to read it, unleſs you would confeſs, that thoſe skilled in reading the *Iriſh* Language are extinct; for the meereſt *Iriſh* of that Kingdom, and all the Popiſh

piſh Clergy, who (if any) are likliest to be be skilled in it, were ingaged in the Rebellion, and conſtant promoters of it, having their Colledges and Monaſteries in *Kilkenny*, and all Cities and chief Towns under the Confederate *Iriſh* Power, and wholly at their Command. For a cloſe of this Paragraph, your Lordſhip ſaith, you were not in caſe to bring to Juſtice thoſe that begun the Rebellion, but you never ſaw any of them eſteemed or advanced. This is ſtrange, when *Owen Roe Oneal*, Sir *Phelemy Oneal*, *Con Oneal*, the Mc. *Donnels*, Mc. *Thomas*, the *Farrolls*, the *Delyes*, the Mc. *Cartyes*, Mc. *Guires*, Mc. *Mahans*, *Fitzpatricks*, Mc. *Gennis's*; and generally thoſe of the meer *Iriſh* ſepts and Families, were chiefly truſted, whoſe names it were too tedious to repeat, but I have Authentick Liſts of them; but indeed I do believe the Confederates, even of *Engliſh* Extraction, had as little will as power to queſtion thoſe

that

that begun the Rebellion; and to this day they are ſo far from any inclination to condemn it, that all their Writings run in Juſtification of it; and I never yet met with any that cordially ſeemed to repent it, or perſwade others to it, except only *Peter Walſh*, whom your Lordſhip calls your Ghoſtly Father *Caron*, and ſome few Remonſtrants with them, who condemning the Doctrines of Rebellion, King killing, and Depoſing, *&c.* do obliquely cenſure this Rebellion; and ſome of them poſitively call the beginners and continuers thereof to repentance.

The reſt of your Lordſhips *Memoires* is more Hiſtory than Juſtification, as well whilſt you continued to ſerve under the Confederate Catholicks, which was till the Peace of 1646, proclaimed, as after, till you left *Ireland*, wherein your Lordſhips part being mixed of Gallentry and Generoſity in ſome inſtances, as well as Severity and fierce Proſecution of the

*Engliſh*

*Engliſh* in others. I will not be a critical obſerver thereof, or lead any to envy your Lordſhip, the juſt eſteem of whatever you did honourably, though in an ill cauſe. But ſince your Lordſhip lays ſome weight of merit upon the Ceſſation, and two Peaces of 1646, and 1648, and expreſſeth no unfavourable Opinion of that which goes by the name of *Glamorgan*'s Peace, and think much that the *Iriſh* their Eſtates were given away by the Acts of Settlement. I ſhall only make ſome general Remarks upon thoſe particulars, and the whole ſtate of that Rebellion, and ſo put an end to your Lordſhips trouble and my own.

And firſt, I muſt obſerve upon the whole matter, that the *Iriſh* did the *Engliſh* more hurt, and advantage themſelves more by the Ceſſation and two firſt Peaces, than ever they did or could do by open force after the firſt Maſſacre, upon this grounds, the Lords Jvſtices and Council, were from the

the beginning averſe to them; and for me to ſhew the Deſign and Intrigue of the Ceſſation and Peaces, which I can do by unqueſtionable Memorials and Records, will make a great part of a volumn, and cannot well come within the bounds of a Letter; but when I have ſaid all, I think fit to your Lordſhip, upon occaſion of your Letter, your Lordſhip, who (as you were an Enemy, as keen as generous) having been by your place and intereſt privy to all the Cabals and ſecret Councils againſt the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*, being deeply ingaged in the Roman Catholick Confederacy; and any other Attempts againſt them, in what ſhape or form ſoever they appeared) will I hope, if you find any thing written by me queſtionable or doubtful in your opinion, favour me with your ſevereſt Reflections thereupon; for as I deſign nothing but exact truth wherever it light, ſo if by inadvertincy or want of full information,

I ſhould erre, or come ſhort in the leaſt, your Lordſhip ſhall find me ready to retract or ſupply, but never to perſiſt in it.

Your Lordſhip knows as well as any man, that the Earl of *Ormond*, made afterwards Marqueſs and Duke with the ſame Title, was the firſt of that Family of the *Botelers*, that was Educated in the Proteſtant Religion; his Mother the Lady *Thurles*, Brothers, Siſters, and all his Relations continuing Roman Catholicks, and in the Iriſh Quarters, and thoſe able to bear Arms, as the Lord *Muskery*, after Earl of *Clancarty*, and Collonel *Fitzpatrick*, his Brother in Law, his Brother Collonel *Richard Butler* of *Kilcaſh*, and Collonel *George Mathewes*, and other his Relations; as the Lords *Mountgarret*, *Dunboyne*, and divers other Lords, and others of his Name and Family, were Generals or Commanders of lower Quality in the Rebels Army; ſo that his Lordſhip was upon the matter ſingle

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in any Duty and Allegiance to the Crown; all his Lordſhips Friends, Kindred and Dependants, taking the contrary part; and his Lordſhip eſcaping ſoon after the Rebellion to *Dublin*, only with the Kings Troop, which he Commanded, and ſome Servants that attended him. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant, as he was upon his Journey for *Ireland*, was diſcharged that Imployment, to make way for the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to ſucceed him, who had an unlimitted Commiſſion ſent him, ſole to examine the pretended Grievances of the *Iriſh*, and for making a Ceſſation with the Rebels, which he did, and was after made Lord Lieutenant, and concluded the two firſt Peaces before-mentioned. I have heard Sir *Philip Percival*, a very worthy Perſon and of a fair Eſtate, being asked why he would by his Certificates of Defect of Stores, give countenance and furtherance to a Ceſſation, which

he knew could only advantage the Rebels, and be ruinous to the *Engliſh*? Anſwer, The Stores were really waſted upon unprofitable, fruitleſs Marches, and then his Certificates being required, he durſt not (as an Officer) refuſe them, though he was aware of the uſe would be made of them.

To ſhew your Lordſhip how the Ceſſation operated (laying aſide at preſent, the queſtion of the warrantableneſs on neceſſity thereof) and that the two firſt Peaces were againſt Law, and ſeveral Acts of Parliament, in both Kingdoms (and upon that and other accounts, the validity thereof) I muſt take another opportunity, when I may diſcourſe things more fully with your Lordſhip. I can now only briefly tell your Lordſhip, that all the Proceedings of the Rebels in Arms, and all their Demands, were Treaſon: That the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants had the Laws on their ſide, which the *Iriſh* by combination

bination and force did break, and designed wholly to subvert: That the *Irish* tollerated no Protestants in their Quarters, though that Religion were the only legal Establishment; but seized and forfeited all their Estates, whilst the Protestants afforded the measure and benefit of the Laws to the *Irish* and Papists, even to those who had been in Rebellion, whensoever they came in or submitted.

It is not then to be wondred at, that the chief and most of the *English* Nobility in *Ireland*, and the generality of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Protestants of all qualities and degrees, sooner or later, opposed both the Cessation and Peaces, as destructive to them, and derogatory to the Crown, in which number we find, the Earls of *Kildare*, *Thomond*, *Cork*, *Barrimore*, *Drogheda*, *Donnagall*, *Claubrasill*, *Mount Alexander*, &c. The Viscounts of *Valentia*, *Conoway*, *Ranelagh*, *Kinnelmeky*,

*nelmeky*, *Shannon*, &c. Barons or Lords *Elſmond Juchequin*, *Blaney*, *Broghill*, &c. But it were endleſs to name all, and of no uſe to your Lordſhip, who know this as well as I.

By this it appears how ungratefully the *Iriſh* did requite the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, for his unwillingneſs that the whole *Iriſh* Nation ſhould ruin themſelves by their perſiſting in Rebellion. And now, whether it was their vain confidence to carry the day, or what elſe occaſioned it, they loſt the opportunity of deliverance, which the Marqueſs of *Ormond* being related to ſo many of them by Blood and Alliance, had compaſſionately deſigned for them, though with great hardſhip and damage to the *Engliſh*. And whatever grounds the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had for the Ceſſation and Peaces (by which he could have got nothing, but would have incurred manifeſt loſs) which it chiefly concerns himſelf to vouch,

that

that in the eye of the World he may ſtand clear, as a true *Engliſh* Man and faithful Subject. It is apparent, that now by the Forfeiture and Puniſhment of the *Iriſh*, his Lordſhip and Family are the greateſt gainers of the Kingdom, and have added to their Inheritances vaſt ſcopes of Land, and a Revenue three times greater than what his Paternal Eſtate was before the Rebellion; and moſt of his increaſe is out of their Eſtates who adheared to the Peaces, or ſerved under his Majeſties Enſigns abroad; which ſhews, that whatſoever of Compaſſion or Natural Affection, or otherwiſe, might incline him to make thoſe Peaces, he is in Judgment and Conſcience againſt them, and ſo hath ſince appeared, and hath advantage by their laying aſide. The like may be ſaid of the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord *Lanesborough*, and others, who have great Eſtates of the *Iriſh* freely

given them upon the ſame foundation. So that 'tis to be hoped whether the Bills already come over to confirm the forfeited Rebels Eſtates to *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, will do the work or no: That his Grace, or whoſoever ſhall ſucceed him in the Lieutenancy, will in time tranſmit ſuch Bills as ſhall do that work effectually, and unite and ſtrengthen his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, to oppoſe and break the further Deſigns of that Rebellious Generation, which they will never keep free from, ſo long as they acknowledge and obey a Forreign Head.

I ſhall make no reflection at this time upon the Peace called *Glamorgan*'s Peace, but what your Lordſhip gives occaſion for by mentioning it, *viz.* That it was the moſt deſtructive of all to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, but ſuited beſt with the Confederate Deſign of eſtabliſhing the *Romiſh* Idolatry, which your Lordſhip in your Oath of Aſſoci-

Aſſociation engaged as deep in as any, excepting the firſt foundation laid in Blood, a fit baſis for a Faction, only ſupported by Fraud and Cruelty.

One paſſage in your Lordſhips *Memoires* I cannot but take notice of, for your Honour, as an *Engliſh* Man, That when the Marques of *Ormond* in his extremity, between the Nuncio party and the Parliament of *England*, asked your Lordſhip with which of his Enemies he ſhould treat. You anſwered, That you were confident he had reſolved that before, there being no queſtion in the caſe; when it was no queſtion with your Lordſhip, I wonder how it came to be one with his Lordſhip; but the ſucceſs of your Council was happy, and founded upon ſolid grounds of Reaſon.

Your Lordſhip ſees I can but glance at particulars in this Letter, and being (by ſo noble a Pens ingaging in juſtification of a Quarrel, which caſts reflection

ction upon all that took contrary part to the *Iriſh*, of which number I was one) contrary to my firſt intention upon the matter, neceſſitated (in vindication of as juſt a cauſe as ever was managed under the Sun) to haſten out the laſt part of the general Hiſtory of *Ireland* firſt (Wherein I ſhall ſo impartially make relation beyond all poſſibility of contradiction, that I doubt not your Lordſhip will reflect with remorſe upon what you have done and written, wherein I differ from you, and the World will know exactly the truth of that ſad ſtory.) I ſhall in the mean time, only as in an abſtract, ſet theſe things before you, and upon the whole matter in anſwer to your Lordſhips ſpecious juſtification, and for your preſent mortification, let you know that by Judgment of the King and his Privy Counci s and Parliaments in both Kingdoms. You are involved in the guilt of Treaſon, and under forfeiture

feiture of all you have, and as a friend, yet adviſe you to get his Majeſties Pardon, if the Acts of Parliaments have not precluded you; for its more than I know if all your Lordſhips active Services in *Ireland* be not yet liable to the utmoſt penalties and Severities of the Law. So far are they from being fit to be offered as entertainment to his Majeſty by an Epiſtle Dedicatory, as your Lordſhip hath done.

I find your Lordſhip in ſeveral places reflects upon thoſe who broke the firſt Peace, and call it unparallell'd breach of Faith, puniſhed by heavy Judgments from Heaven; and yet this was the Confederates own Act. But as if the breach of the Oath of Allegiance by the *Iriſh*, and their treacherous and bloody defection from the Crown of *England*, were a Peccadillo, your Lordſhip hardly takes notice of it, but repines at the forfeiture of Eſtates grounded thereupon, though God and Man agreed in that Vengeance and Puniſhment. And

And let this Rebellion be compared to all before it, there will not appear, ſince the *Engliſh* Title to *Ireland*, ſo juſt and clear grounds of forfeiture and extirpating a Nation, as have done upon this; but the King hath mingled Mercy with Juſtice; and though by a Providence from Heaven to the *Engliſh*, the Marqueſſes of *Ormond* and *Clanrickard*, his Majeſtles chief Governors, incouraged the *Iriſh* to keep up a War againſt the *Engliſh*, wherein they were ſo much hardened to their ruin, that they were at length intirely ſubdued, without condition to any ſave for life, and left to be as miſerable as they had made others in all other reſpects, yet multitudes of them have been reſtored, and muſt yet own their Lives and Eſtates to the Clemency of the King, and the mildneſs of the *Engliſh* Government, which they had caſt off, and put themſelves under a Forreign Yoke, which neither we nor our Fathers

thers were able to bear. The Wiſdom of God thus puniſhing one ſin of theirs with another, till they are ſcarce a People; and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant intereſt never more flouriſhing in that Kingdom. Inſomuch, that it would be now the greateſt folly imaginable in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, ever to ſuffer the *Papiſts* to grow capable of raiſing ſuch a Rebellion again, which they will certainly do when able; Bigottery and ſottiſh Ignorance, both of Prieſts and People in Religion, being the growing root of miſchief there.

Upon the whole, ſince the Cobweb excuſes your Lordſhip hath made, cannot cover the Blood that hath been ſhed, or bring quiet to the Conſciences of any that had hand therein; and ſince your Lordſhip ſo well knows the Temper and Conſtitution of the *Iriſh*, by your long continuance and intereſt among them, I cannot but yet hope

and

and therefore do with the moſt friendly adjurations beſeech your Lordſhip herein) that the zeal, which you yet ſeem to have for the King his Laws, and the *Engliſh* Government, will incline you to let him know (the truth you cannot be ignorant of) that they are a Nation never to be truſted till reformed, that ſo his Majeſty and his *Engliſh* Subjects may run no more hazards of ſuffering by confidence in them, or regard to their *Crocodile* Tears and groundleſs Complaints, by which they have deceived the *Engliſh* in all times. And that by your Repentance, imitating your Ghoſtly Father *Peter Walsh*, his Advice to his Countrey Men for Repentance and change of Principles, your Lordſhip may give another inſtance to the World that Allegiance and the Religion you profeſs may dwell in the ſame Breaſt, then which nothing can more conduce to divert the *Irish* from future Attempts of Rebellion.

My

My Lord, I find many Queries fit to be made on your *Memoires*, and many other particulars; a *Redire* therein, but you will, perhaps, think I have done too much already. I ſhall therefore reſerve theſe to another opportunity, and here cloſe in the wonted manner, with the aſſurance of my being (ſaving in the *Iriſh* Confederacy and Matter of Religion)

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhips*

*Affectionate Friend*

*and Servant.*

POST-

# Postscript.

THis Letter *was written, as appears, in* August 1680, *presently after the Earl of* CASTLEHAVEN *had Published his* Memoires, *with a Dedication only to the King; but since his* Lordships *Receipt of this* Letter, *he was, it seems, convinced of the necessity of writing the* Epistle to the Reader, *in Condemnation of the* Irish *Rebellion, which his Lordship hath since caused to be Printed, with the said* Memoires.

*FINIS.*